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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 170



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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### U.S. PARTY POLITICS, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ANALYZED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Chen Jun [7115 0193]: "American Elections"]

[Text] American presidents are elected by voters. The Constitution of the United States stipulates that citizens who have reached the age of 18 shall have the voting right to elect a president; a natural born citizen of the United States who has reached the age of 35 and has been its resident for 14 years is eligible to be elected president of the United States. The American presidential election, which is held once every 4 years, has been consistently publicized by the Western countries as a model of modern democracy. Certainly, in contrast to the hereditary system of lifetime tenure, such elections do represent a giant step forward. Yet, a deeper study will show that the actual situation of the American presidential election is far more complicated than the provisions of the law. The Constitution of the United States does not stipulate that the candidates for president should be nominated by their political parties. But America's presidents, ranging from its first president George Washington to the recently elected 40th president Ronald Reagan, have been nominated by their political parties--mainly Democratic and Republican parties. Before election, they must produce a presidential nominee following repeated deliberations and fierce struggles. On election day, voters normally must choose between the candidates nominated by the two parties. Although candidates not so nominated can also participate in the race, thus far none of them has ever been elected president of the United States. The two major political parties in the United States have monopolized not only its elections but also its politics as well. Because they can assume power alternately, a so-called two-party system has emerged.

The American presidential election is being monopolized by the two parties which are under the control of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the United States. There is actually no difference between the two parties because both represent the monopoly bourgeois interests. The main functions of the Democratic and Republican parties are to manage their election campaigns. None of them has any firm, permanent political platform which is proposed when the election campaigns are underway. Nor do they have any definite numbers of party members. An elector who votes for the candidate of either party on election day can be called its member. Once one of the candidates nominated by the two parties is elected president, he will become the leader of the party that has nominated him. Even a leader of this stature does not necessarily belong to any party. Former American President Eisenhower,

originally a military man, neither belonged neither to the Democratic Party nor the Republican Party. Although he was elected president on the GOP ticket, the Democratic Party had also tried to recruit him as its candidate. The currently elected Republican President Reagan was originally a democrat. Whichever party comes to power will implement the same policy to defend the monopoly capitalists' interests. Although the two parties are basically the same, they quarrel in public petulantly. Particularly during the election campaigns, the two parties will rack their brains and try every means to level strongly worded charges and countercharges. The ruling party will spare no effort to publicize its "political achievements," cover up its failures, and pacify the people's voice of deep discontent in an attempt to keep itself in power, while the other party not in power is mounting strong attacks against the government policies, exposing the incompetence of the ruling party in an attempt to take over the power. When one of the two parties is in power, the other will take the position of an opposition party. When the policies of the ruling party are proven inimical to the people's interests, and when the people become disenchanted with them, the party in opposition will "bravely step forward" in criticizing and repudiating the government. It may also respond to the people's wishes with some proposals aimed at creating a false hope in their minds that once the political power is shifted from the hands of one party to the control of the other party, the dissatisfactory status quo can be changed. Once its candidate is elected, its originally plausible campaign platform and all kinds of other promises it made to the people can be disregarded. Basically, it may not have the intention to deliver on them all in the first place. It is in this manner that the political power is shifted back and forth between the two bourgeois political parties. In this way, the political process is repeated to preserve the bourgeois rule forever. As soon as the current presidential election was over, the NEW YORK TIMES carried an article pointing out: "Of the 43.2 million Americans who voted for Reagan, the great majority just became disenchanted with President Carter rather than truly supported the GOP ideological views." The United States and other capitalist countries have gone to great length to publicize the two-party system, describing the existence of an opposition party as the hallmark of democracy, insisting that there will be no democracy without opposition parties; with opposition parties comes democracy. As a matter of fact, the two-party system is an effective tool to preserve the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. To be blunt, the American presidential election means only choosing one of two agents selected by the monopoly bourgeoisie whether the people like him or not. This is the democratic rights the American voters enjoy under the two-party system.

According to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, the qualifications requisite for a president are very simple. It seems that everyone can enjoy an equal opportunity of being elected president as long as he possesses such qualifications. Actually, the opposite is true. The American president election is a costly campaign consuming a large amount of money; without money, thinking of becoming a president is only a dream. Whoever wants to run for public office will have to set up campaign headquarters, organize a vast contingent for the campaign, print and distribute a large amount of propaganda materials, and place a great number of advertisements on himself. He also has to rent TV and radio times for special programs, hold all kinds of receptions and mass rallies, invite people to parties and present gifts, and travel to all parts of the country by chartered aircraft in order to drum up support and win votes. Can this be done without money? The evening "prime time" sold by the American national TV advertising



network is worth \$100,000 per minute; the program to advertise a presidential nominee during the campaign sometimes lasts 30 minutes. Can this be done without money? This is why the American people have consistently called their presidential election "a game of the wealthy people."

The American presidential election now costs more than ever. Some \$100,000 were spent when Lincoln ran for the office of president in 1860. Over \$10 million were spent when John Kennedy ran for the presidency a century later or in 1960. He outspent Lincoln by over 100 times. Nearly \$61 million were spent when Nixon ran for reelection in 1972. It was reported that over \$800 million were spent during the 1980 American presidential election, hitting the highest mark in American history. Where did such enormous amounts of money funding the election campaigns come from? In addition to government subsidies, their main source was donations from the wealthy people. In the past, American plutocrats could freely use money to support a certain candidate or to influence elections. In 1974, the American Congress adopted a law aimed at putting a ceiling on campaign donations. Under this law, individual donations cannot exceed \$1,000 per person; each group donation cannot exceed \$5,000. However, such law can in no way prevent private citizens or enterprises from using donations to influence elections. The reason is that it cannot prohibit monopoly capitalists from financing the elections campaigns in ways other than donations. For example, they can place ads and/or rent TV programs for candidates of their choice. In addition, there are other loopholes in such law that they can take advantage of. For example, the maximum donation by each group cannot exceed \$5,000. If this group splits it up into 10 or 100 subgroups, its total donation can go up to \$50,000 or even a half million dollars.

Candidates running for the American presidency are politicians. Before their participation in the election campaign, they generally have had to their credit a certain period of experience in political activities. The process of their political activities is a process of being watched and screened by the monopoly bourgeoisie. If their political performances are appreciated by the monopoly capitalists, they can rise meteorically until they end up in the office of president. Former American President Nixon has written a book entitled "Six Crises," describing his experiences in dealing with a series of political crises before he was elected president. Because he demonstrated his ability to deal with crises and to serve the interests of the monopoly capitalists, he laid a groundwork for being elected president later on. Although an American president is very powerful, he is still being watched by his behind-the-scene bosses during his tenure. If he cannot roundly satisfy the demands of those feuding financial groups, and craftily make all happy, he may be unavoidably liable to punishment and may even be thrown out of the office of president. The assassination and tragic death of Kennedy and Nixon's downfall in disgrace testify to this fact.

In 1912, Lenin pointed out: The election of a president in the United States was "a pompous but empty display of power and influence and a meaningless contest of strength between two bourgeois political parties to deceive the people and deviate their attention away from their immediate interests." ("Collection of Lenin's Works" vol 18, p 397) This statement hit the nail on the head, and is a deep insight into the American presidential election. Of course, the overwhelming majority of its critics are Americans themselves. Even people within the ranks of the ruling group have held that the "factual and true sense of democracy has not been reflected" in

the American presidential election. Shortly after Reagan was elected, his senior advisor Allen published an article in the WASHINGTON POST, saying: "The people widely hold that whoever occupies the Oval Office will make no difference--everything is going on just as usual." This more or less reflects the American popular view of and attitude toward the presidential election. The percentage of eligible American voters who have turned out to cast their ballots on election day has declined from time to time (in 1972, it was 55.4 percent; in 1978, it was 54.4 percent; in 1980, it was 52.3 percent). A glimpse of this fact shows that the Americans have become less and less interested in such one-every-4-years "pompous but empty display of power and influence and meaningless contest of strength."

9574

CSO: 4005



## PARTY AND STATE

### CHINA'S LEADERS TAKE HEED FROM LESSONS OF POLAND

Hong Kong ZHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 40, 1 Feb 81 p 71

[Article by A Shan (7093 3790): "Could a Polish Crisis Occur in China?"]

[Text] Could a Polish crisis such as the one which has caught the world's attention occur in China? This is a major event which China's central leadership is regarding most anxiously.

The Polish crisis was triggered when that government on 1 July proclaimed an increase in the price of meat. At first the shipyard workers in Gdansk and other cities held a strike in opposition, and this was very quickly spread into a nationwide general strike. During the strike the workers organized the independent "Solidarity" union separate from the leadership of the government. This quickly developed into a nationwide organization with nearly 10 million members. Buffeted by the waves of this strike, the head of Poland's United Workers Party, Gierek, announced his resignation and the Party and government were reshuffled many times. How could this kind of a serious political, economic and social crisis occur in Poland? The Polish leaders themselves said on many occasions that the main reasons are: one, serious mistakes for many years in economic policy; two, the violation of the principle of democracy in political life; and three, serious bureaucratism and corruption of some Party persons in power, leading to intense dissatisfaction among the people. (Editor: Please refer to the appendix.)

If we measure current conditions on the mainland according to these three factors creating the Polish crisis, we can discover many symptoms of the same disease:

First, many development programs were drawn up in economic policy after the smashing of the gang of four, such as "We will see initial results in one year and major results in three years" and "Ten or more Daqings, 60 million metric tons of steel." These slogans rang in the ear. Yet in only three years, the whole bubble has burst. Work cannot proceed on the Baoshan Steel Mill, with an investment of tens of billions, but work cannot stop on it either. The Daqing oilfield cannot even maintain its own level of output. When the prices of subsidiary foodstuffs were readjusted and each staff

member or worker received a supplement of 5 yuan, it resulted in a general price inflation. The living standard of the people went down, not up. Don't these kinds of conditions count as serious mistakes?

In political life, following the arrest of Wei Jingsheng, the 12th Session of the Fifth National People's Congress eliminated the "four great freedoms" from the constitution. In literature and arts, the modern drama "If I Were True," based on actual events in daily life, was banned from the stage and the film scripts for "In the Social Records" and "The Woman Thief" were criticized. Press freedom has been suppressed. The extremely popular soprano Li Guyi [2621 6253 0001] was reproached for the songs she sings and her singing style, and young people have been reproached for wearing pants with legs which are too wide. Now really, how much of the principle of people's democracy still remains?

As for the bureaucratism and corruption of some of those in authority, in the past the various publications have revealed quite enough instances. I won't go into them here one by one, but will only raise one example. In Shanghai, a limousine in which the mayor was riding ran into a transport truck. This was originally an ordinary traffic accident. But the crowd of onlookers did not analyze who was right and who was wrong according to the rules of traffic. Rather, they shouted angrily, nearly in unison, "We should crush the mayor in that limousine to death. That's the only way to make it right!" When the traffic police arrived, the people at the site shielded the truck driver. Because of this, a deputy secretary of the Shanghai CCP Committee brought up this incident at a mass rally, censuring the masses for lacking a sense of what is right and for not speaking in a just manner. Those attending the meeting responded to this with gales of laughter. This shows the extent to which the masses of the people detest those who exercise their privileges!

The outbreak of the crisis in Poland has sounded the alarm for the CCP leaders. From the case of Poland they have come to see the seriousness of their own domestic problems. At one meeting, Hu Yaobang said, "Our present domestic problems are like a pile of dry kindling. A single match could start a blaze." That's the way it actually is. The Hunan student riots, the demonstrations of some of the masses in Beijing, the hunger strike by youths sent to support the borderlands in Xinjiang and the ejection of Han Chinese from national minority districts. . . in the final analysis, the cause for these is definitely connected closely with the three conditions described above. The problem at present is not that of preventing a potential fire but one of emergency fire fighting.

To look at a problem is the beginning to solving it. The present measures adopted by the CCP are as follows: the "Circular on Strictly Controlling Prices and Readjusting Negotiated Prices" issued by the State Council on 7 December to the provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and ministries, commissions and organs directly under the State Council; the speech made public on 10 December by CCP General Secretary Hu Yaobang which he delivered at the forum "on some norms for inner-Party political life," on the need to do a good job of rectifying Party style, a speech which bore

a directive by Chen Yun, "The work style of the ruling Party is a matter of life and death for that Party," in order to lend authority to the speech; and, additionally, a series of resolutions, measures and policies have been made to readjust capital construction, develop light and textile industry and raise the living standards of urban and rural people, including placing a freeze on the second stage project of the Baoshan Steel Plant, thereby sparing a large amount of money to use for the people's livelihood.

But looking at problems in order to solve them is not the same as definitely solving them. There are serious obstacles at the basic levels to implementing the various measures formulated at the higher strata of the CCP. It is very much like when a person contracts a serious illness, and has to take medicine. Taking medicine is better than not taking medicine. But if the medicine is not appropriate to the disease or it is not potent enough, it will not do the job. We still need the test of time to see if the above items are going to be effective.

Could a Polish crisis occur in China? Right now both those on the top and those on the bottom are watching and waiting. This is indeed a major issue involving the state's "four modernizations" and the rise and fall of the nation. We still need to put in a lot of work to cure this stubborn disease completely. I anxiously hope the CCP leaders will be resolute and not slacken up. Otherwise, a Polish crisis could break out at any time. This is definitely not scare talk!

11723

CSO: 4005

## PARTY AND STATE

### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LIBERATING THINKING, SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS EXPLAINED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jan 81 p 4

[Article by Weng Shisheng [5040 0013 4141]: "Ideology Should Conform to Practice, Subjectivity Should Conform to Objectivity; On the Relationship Between Liberating Thinking and Seeking Truth from Facts"]

[Text] Liberating thinking should make ideology and practice conform to each other, and objectivity and subjectivity conform to each other. That's seeking truth from facts.

Even today there are still some people who do not understand this clear aim of liberating thinking. Some say as long as one "dares to speak out", even if it doesn't conform to practice, it's still liberating thinking; some believe that liberating thinking has already achieved its aim and some even say that it had been "overdone." These ideas are clearly incorrect. It is very necessary to clarify the relationship between liberating thinking and seeking truth from facts.

Seeking truth from facts is the basic content of our party's ideological line. It is an ideological principle which means that accepting the foundation of the objective law of the world's development, to seek objective law by proceeding from objective reality. Liberating thinking is an ideological movement which, by breaking out of the superstition, following blindly and ossification which binds people's thinking, penetrates objective reality, accepts the test of practice, seeks objective truth and points the journey forward. They are closely related and highly unified. The thought liberation movement was developed on the principle of seeking truth from facts and seeking truth from facts is the aim of liberating thinking.

First of all, seeking truth from facts is the starting point of liberating thinking. Liberating thinking is a demand of seeking truth from facts. Marxist philosophy holds that the world is material, and that the material world develops according to its own fixed laws. People cannot change objective laws, but they can know them and use them. Thus, if people wish to achieve the aim of transforming the world to seek material interests, they must first of all know the objective laws and carry on their struggle according to these laws. This is the principle of seeking truth from facts. But the objective world is limitless and its development has no end. Therefore, people's knowledge also must be deepened and developed, always upholding the principle of seeking truth from facts, constantly studying new situations, developing new laws and new characteristics to guide new action. The knowledge we



already have is important for it is the foundation and guide for carrying on new practice and knowledge, but it definitely cannot be looked on as dogma, but must be enriched, revised and developed in practice. This is the scientific attitude spoken of so often and it is also the attitude of seeking truth from facts and liberating thinking. This is a truth people know well in their lives.

However, old thinking is frequently conservative. Once it takes shape, especially when certain social forces give it all-out support, and even when it is already passe, and even if it is fundamentally incorrect, it will still have a certain force of tradition which confines thinking. At such times, it is urgently necessary for the principle of seeking truth from facts to smash the ideological fetters, get rid of superstition and a powerful thought liberation movement must rise in response, else there is nothing with which to put traditional thinking to flight, nothing with which to give expression to the demands of social development and nothing with which to propel society forward. The many thought liberation movements in history all appeared in just such circumstances. The thought liberation of China's May Fourth period is a typical example. At that time, to find a feasible avenue to save the country and the people, progressive scholars bravely broke various ideological bonds, declared war on feudal thinking and in the struggle accepted Marxism. Within our party, Wang Ming did his utmost to change Marxism into ossified dogma. He promoted "left" opportunism and nearly brought an end to China's revolution. At that time, the development of revolution urgently demanded that the universal truths of Marxism be combined with China's revolutionary practice, that thinking be liberated, and that the line and policy be set in seeking truth from facts. The Zunyi Meeting concluded the rule of Wang Ming's "left" opportunistic line, and the Yan'an Rectification Movement got rid of the superstition of Wang Ming's line and victoriously completed the revolutionary task. Therefore, liberating thinking starts with the implementation of the principle of seeking truth from facts, seeking truth from facts demands liberating thinking and not to liberate thinking is to be unable to realize seeking truth from facts. Next, seeking truth from facts is the aim of liberating thinking and the path by which liberating thinking reaches seeking truth from facts. Liberating thinking starts from the principle of seeking truth from facts and is the aim of seeking truth from facts also. Without seeking truth from facts, liberating thinking has no target to shoot at.

In China's new period a new thought liberation movement is underway whose aim is to explore avenues for China's modernization to serve the realization of socialist modernization. Marxism holds that after the proletariat seizes political power, it should develop productive forces as rapidly as possible, after the foundation of socialist economy has been built, especially, it should place the development of productive forces in the first rank even more. The 8th Congress of our party passed a correct resolution on this point. But, the two counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing savagely overthrew the resolution of the 8th Congress, usurped the party and changed the political line, cooked up a whole series of incorrect theories and by promoting modern superstition seriously confined people's thinking and blocked the progress of modernization. The smashing of the "gang of four" laid the necessary foundation for realizing modernization, but did not sweep away all the ideological obstacles which they had set up, and without getting rid of the feudal and small-scale production forces of habit, it is impossible to mobilize and organize the country's people to band together to struggle for modernization. For this, liberating thinking is necessary to get rid of superstition.

China's modernization is also an enormous and complex enterprise and since we lack experience and cannot copy everything from abroad, and with the addition of economic dislocation, only by liberating thinking and exploring through practice can objective needs and possibilities be reflected, China's characteristics be discovered, and by summarizing the successes and failures in our past construction find the avenue to China's modernization. Since the 11th Session of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP there has been great progress in this area. Our party has upheld seeking truth from facts and proceeding from China's situation the line, direction, policy and measures adopted have advanced modernization vigorously. Obviously, only by further thought liberation can we know the objective laws of China's modernization deeper and deeper and accelerate the pace of the Four Modernizations.

From this it can be seen that seeking truth from facts and liberating thinking are fundamentally unified. The basic nature of seeking truth from facts demands liberation of thinking and liberation of thinking is the only way to achieve seeking truth from facts. In all work, to truly uphold seeking truth from facts it is necessary to continue to liberate thinking. The viewpoint which diametrically opposes seeking truth from facts to liberating thinking is incorrect.

Of course we should also note that the unity of liberating thinking and seeking truth from facts is not simply equating them. This unity is an intrinsic, total unity and is expressed as a process. But in the concrete process of development, because of the limitations of the conditions of knowledge and the independence of the opposition of thinking, especially under the influence of mistaken thinking, liberating thinking cannot always unify with objective reality. Thus, to be a process of testing knowledge, liberating thinking must be guided by the principle of seeking truth from facts. Separated from the principle of seeking truth from facts, liberating thinking can lose its bearings and even go astray. Thought liberation in China in the late fifties departed from actuality and turned its back on science in many respects and created fairly serious losses for socialist construction. This is an historical lesson well worth considering seriously.

Thought liberation at the present time should similarly be guided by the principle of seeking truth from facts and get rid of the interference of wrong thinking. The mistaken tendencies of thought ossification and regarding thought liberation as treason and heresy are important obstacles to thought liberation and must be eliminated. On the other hand, the thinking of bourgeois, petit bourgeois and feudalistic politics, economics and theory also can be used by thought liberation to make them show themselves. Their one outstanding manifestation is that they oppose the four basic principles and they oppose seeking truth from facts. Because the four basic principles are the summation of the experience of the international worker movement and China's revolution they are the guiding principle and guarantee of building socialism. Thought liberation cannot depart from the four basic principles. We must resolutely oppose the mistaken tendency to violate the four basic principles.

Now, thought liberation is already deep in people's hearts, and in the process of liberating thinking, the cadres and masses have a new spiritual look and the wisdom and efforts of everyone are being exerted for modernization. Advancing in the direction of seeking truth from facts and liberating thinking, China's modernization must achieve successes with each passing day.



## PARTY AND STATE

### STRICT, CONSCIENTIOUS STUDY OF PARTY DOCUMENTS URGED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jan 81 p 1

[Article by BEIJING RIBAO commentator: "Study Party Documents Strictly and Conscientiously"]

[Text] Right now our nation is facing the important task of realizing the readjustment of the national economy. Because of the influence of the leftist line over the past few years, and in particular the wounds left by the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" which have not yet healed, although the present situation is very good, the difficulties we face are still numerous and among cadres and the masses, understanding is still not unified. The key to resolving this issue is in vigorously improving and strengthening party leadership and in strengthening ideological and political party work among the masses.

Since the Eleventh Session of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP, our party has had a correct line. To adapt to the needs of the four modernizations, all policies have a new development. This year, our nation should carry out further readjustment economically and further stabilization politically. This is the only correct direction for our economy and politics at present.

To implement the party's correct line, direction and policy, not only requires that the party be unified and do everything according to party directives, but also that the party be unified and do a good job of ideological and political work among the masses, mobilize everyone's initiative, unite as one, and make the appropriate contributions along the correct course of the four modernizations.

Since its Third Plenary Session, the Central Committee of the CCP has issued many important documents and from the perspective of theory and practice given correct answers and clear provisions on many questions facing us. Most comrades have conscientiously studied and discussed the Central Committee documents, made an effort to implement them, making great accomplishments and promoting various undertakings and the general situation is good. But among a few comrades the atmosphere is still poor, and they have adopted an unserious attitude towards the Central Committee documents. Some comrades are not conscientiously studying and trying to understand, not getting in close touch with actuality and correcting their incorrect understanding, but have only a cursory impression since they have given the documents only a quick once over. Some comrades are not integrating the work situation and ideological situation of their regions, sections and units, conscientiously studying and implementing, but are reading out the documents and having done with it. Some questions were taken up very clearly by the Central Committee documents, but because they have

not been studied carefully or understood, some problems or distortions have appeared in the process of implementation, denying the spirit of the Central Committee documents. Some comrades have adopted an attitude of feigned compliance with regard to the Central Committee documents, while expressing agreement publically, but in reality are still doing things in the same old way, hanging on to their leftist tendencies for dear life.

Clearly the spirit of the many documents issued by the Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session has been consistent and consecutive, but some comrades have not studied them well, have blindly jeered along with others and complained about the many changes in Central Committee policy. Very individualistic comrades have even publically distributed statements and made speeches which are opposed to the spirit of the Central Committee documents, and created a very bad impression. Some of these things are not good for the unity of the party and the wholeheartedness of the nation to overcome difficulties and carry forward the four modernizations and should be promptly correct.

The important Central Committee documents issued since its Third Plenary Session all apply the fundamental viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism and were formulated through investigation and research and on the basis of an incisive summary of the teachings of historical experience, and are the crystallization of collective wisdom. Even the individual reports which were issued in the form of party documents went through collective discussion and were published with the approval of the party organizations, and thus are not just the opinions of individuals. Although there are different opinions and viewpoints within the party with regard to these documents, they were still published in accordance with party regulations and must still be carried out unconditionally. This is the minimum responsibility of every party organization and every Communist Party member. Communist Party members must resolutely carry out the decisions of the Central Committee and maintain political unity with the party Central Committee. Those who are unwilling to do this are free to withdraw from the party, but they definitely cannot be both a member of the party and not pay attention to the resolutions of the Central Committee and go their own way. Would doing so make the Communist Party a "free" party? Would it strengthen party unity and fighting strength?

The important thing in studying and implementing the Central Committee documents is for the leadership cadres at all levels of the party organizations to take the lead. First of all they should study and discuss the documents with party members, conscientiously try to understand the spirit of the documents and do a good job of tutoring and answering the questions people ask. This is a concrete display of leadership cadres carrying out ideological and political work among the masses. In discussion, depending on the concrete situation, they should launch necessary criticism and self-criticism implementing the specific methods of the Central Committee decisions. The party's organizational life should analyze and study the ideological state of the masses and study how to use the spirit of the Central Committee documents to persuade the masses and distribute to the party members the task of doing mass work. Only if we first study and implement the party documents within the party and unify the party's ideology with the line, direction and policy of the Central Committee, while at the same time conscientiously reforming our work style, doing a good job of mass work, developing healthy tendencies and criticizing mistaken ideology, will we then be able to walk the same road with the masses, and with one heart and one mind solidly complete the important tasks set out by the party.

## PARTY AND STATE

### SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY REQUIRES DISCIPLINE

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Xiao Zheng (5135 2973): "Will Strengthening Discipline Impede the Development of Democracy?"]

[Text] At present, an extremely important question in the process of developing democracy is how correctly to understand and handle the relationship between democracy and discipline.

The ancient saying put it correctly: "If you do not use a rule you cannot form a circumference." In any social organization, even a society comprised of two people, if any joint activities exist, there must be a certain amount of discipline. In our large country with 1 billion people which is building socialist modernization, it is unimaginable to do without strict organizational discipline. What I term discipline refers to the various rules and regulations, institutions, laws and procedures which are drawn up by the leading organs of the state at all levels in accordance with the needs to transform the objective world and based on concentrating and summing up the experiences of the masses of the people and which are used to direct and organize all the people in carrying out normal production, work and study, in order to facilitate the formation of unified activities to struggle for the realization of one's own fundamental interests. It reflects the will and hopes of all the people, safeguards the common interests of the people, and is a guarantee of the proper implementation of the line. The original idea of democracy is the domination of a minority by the majority. Broadly speaking, socialist democracy allows the people to be their own masters. Our country is led by the proletariat and is a people's democratic dictatorship based on the worker-peasant alliance; that is, it is a state of proletarian dictatorship. The people are the masters of the state, and all power belongs to the people. To develop democracy is to adopt various forms and operate through various channels to let the people to express their own will, opinions, demands and hopes in a thorough manner. The exercise by the people of their democratic right to manage their state and social affairs is the most intrinsic characteristic of the socialist system. In the final analysis, the strengthening of discipline and development of democracy is in order thoroughly to mobilize the activism,

creativity and protagonist spirit of the broad masses, create a lively political situation of stability and unity, and keep pace with our being engaged in the building of socialism.

In the relationship between discipline and democracy, we must hold to the Marxist theory of dialectical unity and join discipline and democracy. We definitely cannot split them apart or set them in opposition to each other. At present, some comrades feel that strengthening discipline will impede socialist democracy. This point of view is incorrect. The socialist democracy we speak of is always linked together with rational discipline. Democracy is not anarchy. Socialist democracy is democracy with leadership, with procedures and with discipline. "Democracy with discipline" means that we must submit to the system of organizational rules and regulations which faithfully represents the majority of people. We cannot deviate from the wishes of the majority. Therefore it demands that people uphold the centralized unifying leadership of the Party and government, uphold the decrees, policies and laws which embody the will of the people, uphold the order of normal production, work and daily life, and uphold the authority of the leaders and managers who carry out the will of the people. In the political activities of the Party and state, we must carry out the principles that the minority submits to the majority, the individual submits to the organization, the lower levels submit to the higher levels, and the entire Party submits to the Central Committee. If we do not have a correct centralized unity and if we do not have the necessary discipline, then we do not have true democracy. In strengthening discipline we not only will not impede socialist democracy, but we will make democracy develop in a healthy manner in a correct direction. A democracy without a legal system, without the leadership of the Party, and without discipline and order is not socialist democracy but anarchy. That "democracy" used as a pretext by individuals who hanker for anarchism to pursue their individual aims and want to go as far as to pay no heed to the organizational system or revolutionary discipline nor to the laws of the state is outrageous in word and deed, and is incorrect. It has absolutely nothing to do with developing socialist democracy.

If we are to build socialism and realize the four modernizations, we must both develop democracy and strengthen discipline while opposing tendencies towards anarchism and bourgeois liberalization.

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IMPORTANCE OF REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT EXPOUNDED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jan 81 p 1

[Article by staff commentator: "We Must Inspire the Revolutionary Spirit"]

[Text] After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee led us to launch the discussion on the criterion of truth, restore and develop the party's superior traditions of starting from reality, seeking the truth from the facts and linking theory with practice, emancipate thinking and bring order out of chaos, thus further rectifying the ideological line. All these produced a great promotive effect on the series of political, economic and organizational reforms and resulted in obvious achievements. As proved by innumerable facts, without such an ideological emancipation movement, it would have been impossible for us to cast off the "leftwing" ideological fetters or to liberate ourselves from the modern superstition of the "two whatevers." Today, in face of the gigantic task of the national economic readjustment proposed by the Party Central Committee, there is no doubt that our ideological emancipation must be continued.

It must be emphatically pointed out that one urgent political task on the ideological front confronting the entire party is to reinforce ideological-political work, inspire the revolutionary spirit of the broad party members and masses, struggle arduously and build the nation diligently and thriftily. It is an important guarantee for the successful completion of the economic readjustment and the consolidation of the stable and united political situation.

Currently, some comrades hold certain muddled concepts. The moment the spiritual effect is mentioned, especially the effect of the revolutionary spirit, they immediately return to the old path of the "omnipotence of the spirit." According to some people, since we stress economic and other objective laws, then ideological-political work can "close shop;" since we stress material benefits and introduce the material incentive system, then spiritual encouragement becomes superfluous. These are misunderstandings. There are even people who place seeking the truth from the facts and developing the revolutionary spirit on opposite sides, and actually doubt such revolutionary slogans as "serving the people heart and soul," "benefiting others, not oneself," "selflessness" and "fearing neither hardship nor death" which produced a tremendous

effect in the long revolutionary struggles, "criticizing" them as impractical "high-sounding revolutionary words." It is a distortion of the basic Marxist theory as well as the principle of seeking the truth from the facts.

How to correctly treat the spiritual effect is a momentous theoretical and an urgent practical issue. According to the Marxist philosophy, matter is primary, and it produces a determining effect on the spirit. If one does not affirm this point, one is not a materialist. But meanwhile, one must also admit that spirit produces a tremendous reaction on matter. In "On Practice," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "What the Marxist philosophy considers an extremely important issue is not in understanding the law of the objective world, thereby explaining the world, but in actively reforming it with the understanding of its objective law." The principle of seeking the truth from the facts discussed by us is the unification of correctly understanding the world and actively reforming it. That the Marxist epistemology is called the dynamic revolutionary theory of knowledge as the reflection of reality is precisely due to this reason. Marx made an extremely penetrating remark: "The weapon of criticism naturally cannot replace criticism by weapon, and material force can only be destroyed by material force, but once theory masters the masses, it will turn into a material force." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1 p 9). In other words, once a progressive ideology, i.e., a correct revolutionary theory, a revolutionary spiritual force, emerges from the practice of the revolutionary struggle, it will turn into a material force. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" once vigorously advocated "the omnipotence of the spirit." They discussed spirit apart from the material, placed them on opposite sides, vigorously promoted modern superstition and maliciously distorted the spiritual effect and force, thereby creating a gigantic ideological confusion. Therefore, we must affirm the necessity of criticizing "the omnipotence of spirit." However, when making such criticisms, we must never negate the effect and force of spirit. They are two fundamentally different world philosophies. We must also point out that, in the 30 years of socialist construction, we ourselves also unsuitably exaggerated the effect of spiritual force, violated the principle of seeking the truth from the facts, made idealist class assessments and rendered idealist work guidance, and performed many stupid deeds under such slogans as "the yield of the land is only limited by the courage of man" and "anything we can think of can be done," thus damaging the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses to a certain extent. The lesson must be deeply assimilated. However, summarizing the historical lessons of experience, we cannot and should not reach the erroneous conclusion that spiritual force is unimportant and spiritual effect is nonessential. Giving serious attention to the effect of spiritual force and acting foolishly and rashly in disregard of the practical conditions are basically two different things.

Inspiring the revolutionary spirit and implementing the party's various economic policies at the present stage are identical. After the Third Plenary Session, the party's various economic readjustment policies, the implementation of the principle of to each according to his labor and the concern for the well-being of the masses enabled the hundreds of millions of people to receive visible material benefits, stabilized their faith in the socialist path and greatly activated their enthusiasm in pursuing the four modernizations. As



proved by the facts, "poverty is revolutionary; wealth is revisionist," the reactionary logic advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," is entirely groundless. The point is that economic policies such as to each according to his labor do not bar us from advocating the revolutionary spirit. On the contrary, inspiring the revolutionary spirit will help us firmly implement the current economic policies. Even in the democratic revolutionary stage, our party always persistently educated the party members and the masses in the communist spirit. Not only not hampering, but it effectively assured the implementation of the party's lines and policies in the new democratic stage. It is also thus today, because man must have some spirit. Under the socialist system, besides the legitimate personal interest, one must, in one's spiritual life, have something more noble and valuable, viz., revolutionary aspirations and ideals, a sense of political responsibility toward one's motherland, the party and the people, and communist ethics and sentiments. It was precisely such advanced ideas and valuable spirit which effectively promoted the continuous progress of our socialist construction cause. Practice tells us that the integration of material incentive and spiritual encouragement is not only completely proper but also completely possible. Otherwise, if we abandon ideological-political work, disregard the revolutionary spirit, and permit the decadent bourgeois ideology, such as benefiting oneself at the expense of others, seeking profit only and "money above all," to contaminate people's spiritual world, it will seriously corrode the entire social mores, especially the younger generation, and severely disturb and disrupt the implementation of the party's various economic policies. Now, then, can we discuss the successful readjustment of the national economy or the realization of the magnificent goal of the four modernizations?

Inspiring the revolutionary spirit is the superior tradition persistently followed by our party since its founding. In the long revolutionary war years, under the guidance of the correct line, our party, starting from the practical conditions of the time, gave serious attention to the effect of the revolutionary spirit and developed the spirit of revolution plus exertion, of strictly observing discipline and self-sacrifice, of selflessness and placing others before oneself, of overcoming all enemies and surmounting all difficulties, and of revolutionary optimism and revolutionary heroism. "Routing the wild boar after a hundred battles; subjugating the poisonous dragon after a thousand difficulties," we finally seized the great victory of the revolutionary war. Since the material conditions in those days were indeed extremely inferior, how did we overcome all the dangers and difficulties? Besides the guidance of the party's correct line, we relied on the revolutionary spirit. From the caves of Yanan to the birth of the new China, the most valuable thing was such tenacious and indomitable revolutionary spirit. It is our strength and our strong point which must be brought forth at all times, never discarded.

Inspiring the revolutionary spirit is urgently needed in the current task of readjustment. Many difficulties must be overcome to complete the gigantic task of the national economic readjustment. The effect of the spirit served as our talisman to overcome the enemies and win victories in the past, and it is even more necessary in the socialist modernization construction today. The vanguard and exemplary effect of the party members, in particular, must be demonstrated

in the struggle to build a modern socialist power. Under the situation where the party and the government are introducing all kinds of economic reforms and the policy of opening to the outside, the greater the difficulties, the more important it is for us to demonstrate the spiritual features of our communist party members, realize the lofty communist ideals by our practical acts and manifest a high degree of communist ethics everywhere, never disarming ourselves spiritually. As long as each and every party member, especially the leading cadres, takes the lead to establish the idea of serving the people heart and soul, the noble ethics of honesty in performing one's official duties, selflessness, and benefiting others, not oneself, and the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, the broad masses will follow suit and act accordingly, and stimulate their revolutionary spirit, and the gigantic task of the national economic readjustment will progress smoothly.

Naturally, inspiring the revolutionary spirit is absolutely not an expediency, but something required for the realization of our party's struggle goal. The Chinese Communist Party members who regard the realization of communism as their own duties must strive not only for a high degree of material civilization in the course of building a modern socialist power, but also for a high degree of spiritual civilization. Not only science and culture, but spiritual civilization primarily indicates communist ideals, faith, ethics, discipline, revolutionary standpoints and principles, the comradely relationship among men, etc. All these do not need very good material conditions, nor advanced educational level. In the Western capitalist world, even though their current material conditions are superior to ours, their social system is decadent and corrupt and the spirit of people is low. We must mainly rely on ourselves to build a strong socialist material foundation while also cultivating hundreds of millions of people with a high degree of spiritual civilization. We must also attract foreign friends so that all those in the world who feel spiritually hollow and ideologically depressed will look to and admire our spiritual civilization.

"Man must have some spirit." This is particularly so in difficult times. The task confronting us is extremely arduous. As long as we rouse ourselves and restore and develop the Yanan spirit, the pioneering revolutionary spirit of early liberation and the spirit of overcoming difficulties of the early sixties, we will surmount all difficulties, unite as one, advance steadily and march toward the glorious and shining magnificent goal!

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CADRES MUST SERVE AS MODELS IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Zhang Qingmin (1728 1987 3046): "Develop the Superior Tradition of Ideological-Political Work--Reading Comrade Zhou Enlai's 'Political Work of the Resistance War Troops'"]

[Text] Not long after the start of the resistance war against Japan in 1937, Comrade Zhou Enlai wrote "the Political Work of the Resistance War Troops." Dazzling with the ideological brilliance of a great Marxist, the article not only became a programmatic document for the political work of the resistance war troops at that time, but possesses an important realistic significance today.

There is a superior tradition in our party's political work. Whether in the years of war or in times of peaceful economic reconstruction, the party's political work personnel gave attention to teaching not only by words, but even more by example. They charged ahead of the men in battlefields and retreated behind them, integrating battlefield propaganda and agitation with the courageous spirit of self-sacrifice. In all items of work, they disregarded the personal for the public and produced an exemplary effect everywhere. Therefore, our party's political work enjoyed a high prestige and produced good results, serving as an important guarantee for the completion of all kinds of tasks by the masses under the party's leadership. However, this superior tradition encountered serious destruction in the 10-year calamity. The masses were extremely disgusted with the "false, exaggerated and hollow" political deception aimed at punishment practiced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and the prestige of political work dropped to its lowest point. As pointed out in Comrade Zhou Enlai's article, some of the masses found that "political work is hollow words and 'peddling dog skin plaster'" and were fed up with it. Such feeling has not been completely eliminated even now. It was the evil result of the ultra-leftwing line. As pointed out by Comrade Zhou Enlai, "that political work has turned into hollow words is definitely not because of the defect of political work itself, but because the political work personnel have not performed true revolutionary political work." Our current task is to develop the party's superior tradition and concretely improve and reinforce political work.

To reinforce political work, one important point is to develop the exemplary effect of all the political work personnel, unifying "advocating and serving as models." Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "The political work personnel themselves must serve as the ideological, political and action models to all the officers and men, faithfully follow revolutionism, influence them with their indomitable determination and diligent and persevering style and rally them with a modest and friendly attitude and a patient and persuasive spirit. Only thus will we raise the prestige of political work, promote its progress and develop its effect. The evil habit of uttering arrogant and hollow words and seeking the limelight and the corrupt and degenerate way of life must be overcome and eliminated." Today, we are at a momentous historical turning point of bringing order out of chaos. In the course of readjusting the national economy, we are confronted with many difficulties, and the masses have a considerable number of ideological problems. There exist certain misunderstandings on the party's lines and policies and the four basic principles on the one hand and, on the other hand, ideas on certain long-standing and unsolved living problems, such as housing, communication, wages and children's employment. Reinforcing ideological-political work has become an important task to assure the smooth progress of the readjustment work and consolidate the stable and united political situation. Under this situation, while the party's cadres and political work personnel of all levels must actively, voluntarily, justly and persuasively propagandize the lines and policies formulated by the party's Third Plenary Session and the four basic principles and intensively, carefully and patiently convince, explain to and educate the masses, what is even more important is that they must take the lead and serve as models in implementing such lines and policies and upholding the four basic principles, sharing the burden with the party, the state and the masses and influencing and educating the masses by their own examples. Our party has more than 38 million members and a large political work contingent. Their conscious exemplary conduct will produce a tremendous impact.

In a certain sense, teaching by example is even more important than teaching by words. To teach others, one must first practice what one teaches before one can be convincing. If the political work personnel say one thing but do something else, doubting the four basic principles while urging the masses to uphold them, putting on airs and uttering high-flown words while following the unhealthy trends, scrambling for housing and wages, the masses will have no respect for them. Precisely as pointed out by Comrade Zhou Enlai, "such political work cannot but turn into an ornament, a joke and a flattery. It will inevitably become hollow words and 'peddling dog skin plaster.'" We must keep in mind his sincere warning, purge Lin Biao and the "gang of four's remnant poison, develop the Yanan spirit, bring forth the superior tradition and style of ideological-political work formed by the party in the long revolutionary war and make ideological-political work truly into a reliable guarantee for the completion of the economic readjustment.



## PARTY AND STATE

### 'LIAONING YOUTH' CALLS FOR MORE ENLIGHTENED PERSONNEL OUTLOOK

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 23 Dec 80 p 1

[Commentary: "Establish a New Outlook on Using Personnel]

[Text] A letter to the magazine LIAONING QINGNIAN [LIAONING YOUTH] raises a question which provides food for thought: at a time when we are forcefully promoting the four modernizations and all trades and professions urgently require a large amount of talent, why do young people with talent still find themselves shut outside the door?

The letter to LIAONING QINGNIAN points out that an important reason is that present policies are too obstructionist. Policies are originally formulated by people according to the laws of contradiction of objective things and are in order to promote and propel the development of those objective matters. Every policy bears the clear characteristics of its time. It must always be changed in keeping with changes in objective conditions. There has never been a policy which could be fixed in stone, one which must be adhered to rigidly forever, or which can conform to the trend of history without daring to reform the individual or group, and thereby propel society forward. Personnel policies are not completely the same in a time of war as in a time of peace and construction; and the 1950s and 1960s are not the same as the present new period of building the four modernizations. The reason for this is that the objective conditions in each period are different, the tasks are different, and therefore the demands on personnel use are different.

At present, in keeping with the new conditions, our Party has already revised or is in the process of revising some policies which do not fit the new conditions. We also need to make suitable changes in discerning, selecting and appointing talent. But the viewpoint of some of our comrades regarding personnel use has remained stuck at the original stage and has not changed in keeping with the change in circumstances. This is bound to hinder us in making the best use of people's talents, and is not beneficial to the development of our cause. For example, today we permit many kinds of economic elements to coexist. Collective enterprises already occupy a relatively important position in the national economy. We no longer adopt policies to limit collective enterprises; our policies encourage their

development. But then why do we still act according to past policies and not allow a mutual flow of talent between collective enterprises and those belonging to the whole people? Why are we still fettered by former ideas and do not make a change in this policy?

Even when we have policies which suit the conditions, the use of talent is adversely affected because our ideas about using personnel are incorrect. For example, our policies stress that cadres must specialize and become more intellectual. This is entirely correct. But cadres in some units and departments still simply look at whether or not a young person with talent has a diploma from a regular school to determine whether to hire him or her, rather than pay attention to their real ability and learning. This is one effect of a mistaken idea in using personnel. At present, mistaken and stale outlooks on personnel are still fettering the minds of some of our comrades and preventing the use and maturation of young people with talent. For example, do you have a bad family background or do you have overseas connections? Your kind of person does not have upright roots and is politically unreliable, so we cannot use you. Have you buried yourself in your vocational activities and mastered the technology? Your kind of person ignores politics and travels a purely specialized path, so we cannot use you. Are you prone to giving your opinions to the leadership and raising suggestions? Your kind of person is puffed up with self-importance and defies the leadership, so we cannot use you. Have you made a mistake and been punished for it? Your kind of person has a blot on your record and we are not sure about your thoughts, so we cannot use you. Have you been successful in spare-time studies and hope to give scope to your skills? Your kind of person reaches for what is beyond your grasp and will not keep your mind on your job, so we cannot use you.... all of these are mistaken views on personnel. The mistake here is not only because they look at people superficially and only use empty concerns to measure talent, but most importantly, they originate in the ultraleft line promoted by Lin Biao and the gang of four. These ultraleft ideas on personnel use disregard the political integrity and main aspects of the broad masses of youth and ignore their activism in building the four modernizations. If we do not do away with these ultraleft ideas on personnel use, talent will not be discerned when it is there, talent will not be recognized even when it is recommended by others, and one will not venture to use talent even when it is standing in front of one. This is an important cause of the heartbreaking situation where talent is suppressed and wasted.

It is extremely necessary to set up a new set of policies as soon as possible which suit present economic construction and which are beneficial to the maturation of young people with talent. But this cannot be accomplished overnight. At present we must first, on the basis of serious investigation and study, establish a new outlook on using personnel; and before gradually restructuring our personnel policies, give active support to the sort of discerning person found in LIAONING QINGNIAN. Proceeding from the great task of the four modernizations, we must place great weight on our youth acquiring talent, and within our powers in a single unit or a single part, use all our wits to carry out restructuring boldly and strive to create a lively situation where "talent alone can raise one up" and "no talent is restricted."



## PARTY AND STATE

### CONSCIENTIOUS STUDY OF NATIONAL CONDITIONS CALLED URGENT MATTER

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 22 Jan 81 p 3

[Article by Zhou Jinxi [0719 6930 3356]: "A Random Talk About National Conditions"]

[Text] The saying goes, "Fit the appetite to the dishes and the clothing to the figure" and "Cut your firewood on the mountain you go to." In revolution and construction, whether drawing up plans, coming up with ideas, thinking up ways or in working, as long as we study the detailed situation and proceed from the specific conditions of the time and place, we can achieve the anticipated results.

In war you should understand the enemy situation. If you know yourself and know the enemy you can fight a hundred battles and never lose. If you don't use every possible means to penetrate the tiger's lair and gather military intelligence, then you are like a "blind man riding a blind horse and drawing near a deep pool in the middle of the night."

If you are going to see a patient you must have a grasp of the patient's condition. If you prescribe medicine, then the medicine will eliminate the disease. But if you don't check the pulse and listen to the heart, don't take x-rays and do lab tests, but randomly prescribe and misuse vitamins and antibiotics then you will not achieve your aim of curing the disease, but even might affect the patient adversely and increase his suffering.

People have their conditions and so do things, the world and countries. The people are the masters of the state and in order to govern well, we must be familiar with the national conditions. Not only should we be familiar with its present, but also with its past and future, in order to suit measures to national conditions, to promote our good points and avoid our bad ones, to do a good job of national affairs.

Our country is an ancient country with a 5,000-year civilization, and while we have a glorious cultural legacy, we also have the burden of history; we are also a brand new socialist country lead by the communist party and while this is incomparably better than the exploitative system, there are still some abuses and we also went through the 10-year calamity of Lin Biao and the "gang of four". This is the general picture. If we deal with the situation in terms of other areas, such as politics, economy, history, geography, nationalities, population, products, resources, climate, soil, technology and management, state structure, etc., then it is even more complex. If we have only a smattering of knowledge about this or even know nothing at all, and then try to run the country, we cannot but cause suffering. Similarly, if our demands for improving life are too high, and we do not see the difficulties in the present,

or if we make promises casually which are out of desire to enrich the nation or benefit the people, this is really a manifestation of not considering national conditions. Therefore, the Central Committee's suggestion that we conscientiously study China's national conditions is a matter of great urgency.

One might ask, if we get the national conditions clear does this mean that there are some people who do not understand? It's one thing to understand, but one you mean by national conditions isn't something everyone can agree on. Before Liberation, a Ph.D. named Hu Shi kept talking about studying national conditions. But after being abroad for 7 or 8 years and getting used to looking at a foreign moon, he reached the conclusion that "Marxism is not suited to China's national conditions." Evidently, taking a reactionary position and holding an idealist viewpoint, one will never be able to understand China's national conditions.

We Communists take the position of the proletariat and the masses, hold to materialism and the dialectical method, are realistic, and have our feet on the ground. We are the ones that pay the most attention to the study of the national conditions. Comrade Mao Zedong's greatest contribution was to combine the universal truths of Marxism and China's revolutionary reality. If it were not for the Chinese Communists applying and developing Marxism from the perspective of China's national conditions, how could we have won the great victories of the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution? In the first few years after the nation was founded, our economic recovery and development went very smoothly and our society was stable just because we put some emphasis on proceeding from national conditions. And yet, we also had some people who did not consider national conditions important and times when we did not consider national conditions important. Earlier, during the period when the "leftist" opportunistic line ruled the party, what Wang Ming said might as well have been about Greece, for it had nothing in common with China's history or situation and he knew nothing at all. As a result he lost about 90 percent of the revolutionary strength in the soviet areas and 100 percent of that in the "white" areas. After the late fifties, there were lots of mistakes in our work and they were related to our failure to give serious consideration to studying national conditions. For example, at the very outset, China's population was the largest in the world, but we always felt that "a person is first of all productive forces, this was something which had been said by the 'forefathers', so how could it be mistaken? Furthermore, our neighboring "big brother" was giving medals for "heroines of motherhood." Actually, if the population is large, several hundred million pairs of hands can certainly be labor, but they are several million mouths which must be fed every day. According to statistics, an annual increase of 12 million people requires an increase in production of food grains of 6 billion jin, at a rate of 500 jin of raw grain per person; at a rate of 25 chi of cloth per person, it requires an increase in cloth production of 300 million chi, i.e., requires an increase of 400,000 dan of cotton (or synthetic fibres) production. At first, we only knew about encouraging families to have children and did not understand that if the population density was increased several times, and even less that a similar birth rate, the absolute numbers of our population would be several times our present population. Can this be said to be knowing national conditions? In those years we proposed catching up with England in 15 years and even wanted to rush into communism. It's good to be motivated, but it's hard to reach the goal. In engaging in socialist construction we have many times stumbled and reversed ourselves, always committing a "leftist" error. An important reason for this is lack of sober information about the basic national conditions of this large country with a big population, poor foundation and low standard of living. We were in a hurry to get results and as a result we were overambitious.

For the very same reason, right after the smashing of the "gang of four" we again attempted a new leap forward with the result that we again committed this "leftist" mistake. Actually, of the 1 billion people in China, 800 million are peasants, and this figure itself is sufficient to reflect the fact that China's productive forces are extremely backward and that it is impossible to make giant strides in a very short time, for that would appear to be a miracle. If you add on to that the disasters heaped on the heads of the people during the decade of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the complex questions which have been accumulating over the past many years, then it is even more difficult to "get going all out" in just a moment. At the time the fetters of "leftist" thinking were not basically undone, so that we could not see that the task with top priority was the adjustment of the proportional relationship which had undergone a long period of destruction so as to lay a foundation for future development.

The 11th Session of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP restored the most basic principles of Marxism, which are seeking truth from facts, the unity of theory and practice, all things start from actuality, and proposed the guiding thought "maintain the necessary socio-political stability and operate the economy according to objective economic laws." Recently, the Central Committee decided the important direction of further readjusting the economy and further stabilizing politics, which are continuations and developments of the line and direction of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP. We are a nation of 1 billion people with 800 million peasants and we are carrying out construction in such a country. We must understand this point, and see this difficulty.

Looking back on the party's history, from its founding in 1921 to the "Seventh Congress" of 1945, our party won two victories and suffered two defeats. Whether these proceeded from China's national conditions is an important and crucial question.

The Chinese Communist Party which is guided by the materialist worldview has unified its understanding finally and has resolved completely the question of the road of Chinese-style democratic revolution and made the Chinese revolution win glorious victory with irresistible force. Our party has 31 years of experience, both positive and negative, in guiding the Chinese people to build socialism and we must certainly have a true understanding of China's national conditions, we can firmly believe that the Chinese Communist Party can certainly lead the Chinese people to march towards new and glorious victories.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPLICATION OF MAO BY 'GANG' SAID TO BE INEVITABLE

Hong Kong ZHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 39, 1 Jan 81 pp 66-67

[Article by Meng Ren [5536 0088]: "How Can Mao Cast Off This Relationship?"]

[Text] Mao Zedong died more than 4 years ago. The "memorial speech" written by the pen of the "gang of four" may be said to be a "great song of praise" unprecedented throughout history. But can this be regarded as the "definitive appraisal" of Mao?

When the "10 culprits" were under trial, many cases inevitably implicated this "great leader." Thus people began to debate vigorously among themselves and felt that he must be appraised anew.

Can people overlook the right and wrong of great personalities since they have become involved in the life cycles and happiness cycles of hundreds and thousands of people? Can they refrain from talking about them? Conscious people are likely to have comments. "Who has appraised them as having such merits and demerits of everlasting standing?" We contemporaries must appraise them. The common people of China have a saying: "Justice is naturally in people's minds." This is a good reply to those who wish to cover up the ears and eyes of all the people under heaven with the palms of their hands. After suffering all the injustice and persecution to which he was subjected, Liu Shaoqi said to his wife Wang Guangmei: "It is a good thing that history is written by the people!" This is really a famous statement of truth.

### Testimonies Cause People To Think

During the public trial of the "gang of four," even though what was revealed by the questions the judges asked of the defendants and testimonies provided by the witnesses consisted of only infinitesimal odds and ends, the principal story was already known by people of the world.

What did people know?

People knew that Mao Zedong cannot cast off a certain relationship!

Through phenomena, people saw the essence. From the surface to the inside, with the true remaining after the false was eliminated, the essence of certain matters was nakedly exposed.



The ringleader of the Red Guards at Qinghua University, Kuai Dafu [5566 1129 1381], testified: when Zhang Chunqiao received him, he instigated them "to make Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping stink." After receiving the order, Kuai Dafu acted immediately and the next day led his troops to demonstrate in a procession in the street, put up big-character posters, then they plotted to grab Wang Guangmei and rush Zhongnanhai. Not only did the Red Guards "make Liu Shaoqi stink," but troop No 8341 (under the leadership of Wang Dongxin) also persecuted Liu to death. Let us ask: where in the pecking order, could Zhang Chunqiao be put? As a tiny little head of the propaganda department of a municipal party committee, not even qualified to become a candidate member of the Central Committee, if there were no one to back him up, if he were not conveying the royal edict of the emperor of the day, what could his words matter? Did Mao Zedong not personally write a big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters" to proclaim "how venomous" Liu Shaoqi was? Between the party chairman accusing Liu Shaoqi of venomous plotting and resorting to "bombarding his headquarters," and Zhang Chunqiao wanting to "make Liu Shaoqi stink," which was more seditious, after all?

What directly persecuted to death such founding dignitaries of the party and the state as Liu Shaoqi, He Long, and Peng Dehuai was troop No 8341 headed by Wang Dongxin. But how could a tiny little office director dare to persecute to death a vice chairman of the party, a chairman of the state, and two vice premiers of the State Council? What dogged guts! But, of course, there was someone behind him. Who was this man? Neither Lin Biao, nor Kang Sheng, nor Chen Boda, nor Jiang Qing was qualified to take this responsibility. It goes without saying who he was.

#### The Mao-Jiang Relationship: "Neither Cut, Nor in Good Order"

In order to remove obstacles in the way of putting Jiang Qing to trial, the Chinese Communist media have taken a long time to manipulate public opinion: Mao said during his lifetime: "Jiang Qing is just Jiang Qing; she represents herself, not me!" It was also rumored that Mao and Jiang had lived separately for a long time.

Can we thus separate Mao from Jiang?

I am afraid not!

The relationship between Mao and Jiang, especially political relationship, is inseparable under any circumstances. The "Cultural Revolution" got stated precisely because Mao personally despatched Jiang Qing to recruit supporters (Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan) from Shanghai in order to organize the small "Shanghai Gang" sectarian group, or the "gang of four", which later became publicly known as the "Cultural Revolution Group." Jiang Qing was so elated about this fact that she once gleefully made it public before the masses. Each time she met the masses during the "Cultural Revolution," she would excitedly declare in trembling voice: "Comrades, I send you kind regards on behalf of Chairman Mao!" That private letter, known all over the world, which Mao later wrote to Jiang Qing, about supporting "my friend Lin Biao" (after the downfall of Lin Biao, this letter was made public to the people of the whole country with an intent which remains unclear; if it was meant to whitewash Jiang Qing's conniving relationship with Lin Biao, what was to have been concealed, then, could not have become more conspicuous) is enough to prove: as husband and wife, the relationship between Mao and Jiang, in the early days of the "Cultural Revolution," at least, was one of intimacy and sharing of weal or woe, as what they could not tell others could apparently be exchanged between them while in bed,

and they hence made a real "revolutionary couple." As for the poem Mao dedicated to Jiang Qing 4 years prior to the formal launching of the "Cultural Revolution" (September 1961), when in his mind Mao was contemplating fomenting a power-seizing storm: "Looking at that vigorous pine in the twilight of dusk, I see shapeless clouds still sailing across the valley with ease; That Cave of the Fairies is one of supernatural design, but the scene of infinite beauty lies nowhere else but at the precipitous peaks"—was this not also suggestive of praise and encouragement for her active participation in his activity of political plotting that was not necessarily all aboveboard? After the passage of the 10-year storm, people can now see clearly: this poem was fraught with an intent to kill (which was originally taken to be of an anti-Soviet nature but turned out differently: Mao belonged to the faction predicated on "pacifying internal enemies first and fighting external enemies later"). At whom was the spearhead directed? Have we not been given all the answers 5 years later? Jiang Qing was the only "vigorous pine" Mao could lean on in those days, and even his relationship with Lin Biao was fortunately strengthened by this noble madame as she grabbed Ye Qun closely and did the necessary liaison work. It was only later when the disaster caused by the "Cultural Revolution" proved to be too great and when Jiang thus became the target of all arrows, that he mumbled about "Jiang Qing is Jiang Qing, she does not represent me": was this not a move to abandon a lesser chessman in order to protect a more important one? And who could believe him?

The propaganda machine also alleged that persons like Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan and Jiang Qing took advantage of the fact that Mao became senile and was sick, and therefore conspired together to hoodwink him; hence it was the "gang of four" who committed unforgivable crimes against the state and the people, whereas Mao only made mistakes because he was hoodwinked. What the truth really was should have been made clear by this time.

In reality, one did not have to wait for the trial of the "gang of four" to see that many facts had already been unmistakably recorded in solemn "documents."

Take for example: right after the 10th Party Congress was concluded, Mao set it aside to work on a new political movement. He suggested that "the 8-grade wage system was a bourgeois right" and that "the bourgeoisie is right in the party itself." This was a new development of Marxism-Leninism by Mao, who even specifically designated Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan to write articles to propagate his points. Who hoodwinked whom in this case?

Let us mention another matter: in later August 1966, Wang Li, Guan Feng, and Qi Benyu instigated "Red Guards" in Beijing Municipality to go to the streets and beat up and kill landlords and capitalists from household to household (in a speech given a few days after this, Lin Biao gave these people an appellation graced with a rich literary flavor, called "old blood-sucking ghosts hidden in the dark corners," while confiscating their properties was called "Long Live the Red Terror of August" or publicly called "eliminating the 4 olds"! and as a result, hundreds and thousands of oldsters, both men and women (whose concrete number is still not made public even to this day) were beaten to death. This "red terror" later spread to large, medium and small cities like Tianjin, Shanghai, Wuhan, Guangzhou, etc.; it appeared that the "old blood-sucking ghosts" beaten to death in these places should be counted by units of 10,000 each; the considerable resultant figure was one of the shining battle achievements of the "Red Guards," indeed. This ultra-Left bloody crime was committed with the perpetrating youths and children shouting Chairman Mao's "supreme directives" and his slogans such as "to rebel is right" and "class struggle is history." Mao



himself also wore a "Red Guard" sleeve stripe to act as the "Red Commander." Mao was later forced to hand over several small fries like Wang, Guan and Qi. But can the "Red Commander" himself evade the responsibility incumbent upon the "red terror of August"?

Under no circumstances can Mao really cast off his relationship with these serious ultra-left actions. As to which responsibility in particular he should shoulder, there seems to be no article in the penal code (or this writer is still not aware of any such article) which is yet appropriate enough to pass a judgment in this regard. Be it left to the public appraisal of the masses of the people and posterity.

Imperial Thinking, "Neither Law nor Heaven Above"

"Power corrupts!" This famous adage has unfortunately become verified because of the life of Mao!

If Mao did not seize Chinese Communist power because of the Zunyi Conference, or if he had anyone to watch over him from above, how could Jiang Qing, this third-rate actress from Shanghai, have so easily taken away Mao Zedong, the husband of another woman, in 1939?

But, looking back, if Mao in essence were not dominated by imperial thinking, then the seduction of power and the rampaging air of "once with power in hand, one automatically issues orders to one's heart's content" (Mao publicly admitted that his was a case of "having neither law nor heaven above to fear") would also not have been demonstrated in such a glaring manner.

Rough statistics would indicate that there are nearly 10 poems written by Mao which describe emperors and kings and express the thoughts and feelings of "making single-handed decisions between heaven and earth," which make up more than 20 percent of the ones formally published by him. It is said that in 1975, when he felt that the "Cultural Revolution" was coming to no good end and he himself had also become helpless in trying to reverse the situation, he faintly chanted the poem "Passing Wuzhangyuan" by Wen Tingjun [3306 1656 4596] of the Tang Dynasty: "The horse with iron-shoes and carved saddle has long ceased to kick up dust; the shadows of the willows oppressively hang over the springtime of the Han Palace. Although the sky is clear, a murderous air seems somehow to rise above the garrison east of the pass, and in the middle of the night, a vicious star appears to shine over the Wei River. In a weakened country, it is useless even if there is a wise adviser like Wolong to keep vigilance for the ruler; the fact that a deer has been captured in the Central Plain apparently was not determined by human will. In the midst of luxury, but speechless: Jiao Zhou [6222 0719] is now no longer the ruler's subject!" What thoughts was Mao trying to express through Wen's poem? What did "the shadows of the willows" that "oppressively hang over the Han Palace" represent? What realistic meaning did they have? "The fact that a deer has been captured in the Central Plain apparently was not determined by human will": how unwilling one is made to submit! "Jiao Zhou is now no longer the ruler's subject": one can only admit defeat.

This really conforms to one's saying: "When he outwitted himself in calculating all the odds, it was too bad the life of his own sweetheart was sacrificed instead!"

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'GANG OF FOUR' VERDICT CALLED VICTORY FOR PEOPLE

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 26 Jan 81 p 1,3

[Editorial: "An Historic Verdict; A Victory for the People"]

[Text] Yesterday, the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court, which was established by decision of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress to try publically 10 offenders of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, concluded in victory. Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao, who were guilty of the most heinous crimes, were sentenced to death with the sentence suspended for 2 years and deprived of political rights for the rest of their lives. Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen, Chen Boda, Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng, Qiu Huzuo and Jiang Tengjiao were sentenced to prison terms of definite or indefinite length.

These verdicts embody the sanctity of the law, can stand the test of history, conform to the long-range interests of the party, army, state and all the people and are absolutely correct. The 10 million people of Shanghai who suffered the torments inflicted by the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, jumped for joy, clapped and cheered, just like all the people of the nation, resolutely upholding the correct verdict.

Marx once said, "History is the judge and the proletariat is the one that carries out the punishment."

People who are opposed to the people will ultimately be overthrown by the people.

People who mock history will be abandoned by history.

The 10 main offenders of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique have finally been nailed firmly to history's pillar of shame.

This is the people's trial, and the people's victory!

This is history's verdict and history's victory!

This victory did not come easily. When the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique cast its most savage and monstrous shadow on the history of the civilization of the Chinese people, wontonly devastating the beautiful landscape of our ancestral land and toying with the people in their clutches, a time when the socialist ancestral land once again faced the serious choice about which way to go, some workers, peasants, PLA soldiers, intellectuals and cadres, with resolute faith, headed towards today's great victory!

On those days when the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court was in session it was as though we had turned over another page in China's disaster-ridden history. As far as China's people are concerned this page is a very painful one and will never be forgotten. All over this page are blood and fire, and the life and death struggle of tragic martyrs. When history ultimately renders its impartial verdict, with tearfilled eyes, the people will taste this wine of victory.

We recall the older generations of proletarian revolutionaries--Liu Shaoqi, Peng Dehuai, He Long, and Chen Yi--who were cruelly driven to their deaths by the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. They struggled to the very last breath in unimaginable torment in a vigorous attempt to turn the tide for the sake of the party, the state, the people and the purity of Marxism-Leninism. We recall the unyielding Communist Party member Zhang Zhixin and other martyrs who unselfishly sacrificed their own precious lives for the future of the party and the people, for the future of the socialist ancestral land, and to safeguard justice and truth. We recall the grand and powerful Tiananmen Incident when thousands of revolutionary people gathered before the solemn memorial to people's heroes and broke out of the darkness into the light, welcoming the inevitable promising and historical changes. History is created by the people. The people want justice, truth and socialism. A small group of careerist and conspiratorial manipulators were simply unable to stop the advancing wheels of history! It was the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, countless martyrs and dauntless masses who intensively manifested the historical initiative of China's people so that in the turbulent rapids, socialism continued to maintain a course towards victory. Today, the verdict against the main offenders of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique consigns these monsters to the garbage heap of history. This is a victory of justice and truth, it is a victory won by thousands and thousands of revolutionaries of earlier generations and revolutionary martyrs and the people of the nation in long term struggle together.

In these days of victory we naturally recall the fact that the party central committee, conforming to the tide of popular will and history, adopted a wise policy and overthrew the "gang of four". In particular, the 11th Session of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP reestablished the Marxist ideological line, seeking truth from facts, being realistic, combining theory and practice, liberating ideology, bringing order out of chaos and reversing the course of events. Under the guidance of the direction of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP that a great many unjust, trumped up and misjudged cases were redressed, policies were established, a stable and unified political situation was created, firm and forceful measures were adopted, the serious wounds left by a decade of catastrophe were healed so that work could follow the correct path of socialism. It was under the guidance of the party's correct line that the Chinese people long ago hoped for the day of a just judgement would come and also that it would conclude victoriously with the impartial verdict of history. When the people hailed this victory full of hope, we cherished the martyrs even more, treasured today's political situation of stability and unity even more, supported the Central Committee even more, implemented the party's line, direction and policy even more resolutely, and were filled with even more confidence in the future of high democracy and high civilization of our great ancestral land's modernization.

The public trial of the main offenders of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique by the Special Court of the Supreme People's Court is an important



implementation of socialist democracy and law. The Lin Biao-Jiang Qing gang is the counterrevolutionary clique which has committed the most serious crimes and the most violent damage since the founding of New China. They worked in collusion, ran rampant for a decade and did all kinds of evil things. Relying on their position and authority, they carried out plots and schemes using mean tricks which were legal and illegal, public and secret, civil and military, to frame and persecute with premeditation party and state leaders and to usurp party and state to overthrow recklessly the people's democratic dictatorship and created a calamity which was of unprecedented seriousness and is difficult to assess. They occupied a position which was completely opposed to all the people. Overthrowing them and bringing them to the dock of history was the will, desire and in the interests of all the people. People said it well: "The Special Procurator's indictment was the people's indictment, the trial of the Special Court was the people's trial." In essence, this trial embodied the broadest socialist democracy. People can recall that when the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique was running rampant, public opinion was defiled, democracy was ravaged, the law was trampled, and the masses and cadres were under a cruel feudal fascist dictatorship, in China there were injustices everywhere, and innocent cadres and masses were slaughtered. In those years, the staunch head for which the enemy offered a reward of 100,000 silver dollars but could not find a taker, finally perished one day in the clutches of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. The crime of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique is clear; they did what imperialism of the time and Jiang Kaishek incessantly schemed to do but never succeeded in doing. If their plans had prevailed, the Chinese people would have once again been cast into a sea of blood. Now the just Chinese people have investigated their criminal responsibility, conducted a public trial and punished them lawfully according to the Penal Code of the People's Republic of China for the monstrous crimes they committed, and for the thoroughly counterrevolutionary crimes which stained their hands with blood and injured thousands and thousands of people. This is an important victory of the Chinese people in the struggle with the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique.

According to the stipulations of the Criminal Proceedings Law of the People's Republic of China, the public trial of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique case, over 60,000 persons witnessed parts of the trial directly and the masses who did witness it were representative and universal in nature. The press, newspapers and broadcasting gave full reports and 110 million persons saw the trial on television so the entire people understood the progress of the trial in a timely fashion. The entire trial process was conducted according to the law and used the criterion of the law. This shows that socialist China is already on the track of democracy and law, and that China's socialist dictatorship political rights are impregnable.

The crimes committed by the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique were serious counterrevolutionary crimes and not just mistakes in work. They violated the Penal Code of the People's Republic of China, were unpardonably wicked and finally received the severe punishment of the law and deserve the punishment. Now we must further study Marxism and use the viewpoint of Marxism to distinguish right and wrong and continue to eliminate the traces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" from politics, ideology and organization. This is still an enormous and arduous task. But only in this way can we further resolutely implement the directions, policies and Marxist political line, ideological line and organizational line set



down by the party Central Committee. Shanghai was the so-called "base area" run by Lin Biao and the "gang of four". After the "gang of four" was overthrown, their remaining confederates still vainly tried with one savage leap to incite a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion. The remaining confederates of the "gang of four" in Shanghai are still awaiting public trial; the damage and influence of the "gang of four" politically, ideologically and organizationally still cannot be underestimated. This we definitely cannot treat lightly, but should arouse sufficient alarm and seriousness.

We should turn the enthusiasm aroused by the great victory of this historic trial into practical action. Cadres from all levels, Communist Party members and citizens of our city, under the guidance of the correct line set down by the 11th Session of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP, should concentrate their energies, rouse spirit, be of one heart and mind, struggle hard to carry out persistent efforts and make new contributions to implement the directions since the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CCP, to readjust economically and be more stable politically, to build a powerful, modernized socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### ZHOU ENLAI'S WORK CRITICIZING BUREAUCRACY PUBLISHED, ANALYZED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jan 81 p 2

[Article by Rong Fu [2837 1318]: "Important Instructional Materials for Learning the Excellent Workstyle of the Party--Reading Zhou Enlai's Work on 'How To Be a Good Leader'"]

[Text] Comrade Zhou Enlai was a great Marxist, a proletarian revolutionary, and one of the Chinese Communist Party's outstanding leaders. Comrade Zhou Enlai's works are a reflection of his brilliant thinking, noble quality and excellent workstyle, a record of his heroic struggle and immortal meritorious service for the cause of the Chinese people's revolution, and a valuable document on applying the Marxist theory to solve problems in the Chinese revolution.

"How To Be a Good Leader" was an outline of a report to cadres written by Comrade Zhou Enlai at the South Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee. In this article, Comrade Zhou Enlai profoundly discussed how to exercise correct leadership, how to lead the masses, leaders and leading organs, the position and tasks of the leaders, the art of leadership, method of work, workstyle, and other important matters; placed an overall demand on the leading cadres of the party at all levels, taught leaders to persist in seeking truth from facts in the course of carrying out practical work, to keep in touch with the masses, to carry forward the fine workstyle of criticism and self-criticism, and to exercise correct leadership; and repudiated bureaucracy, those who indulged in phrase-mongering, arrogance, formalism, degenerate or rotten ideas, and all other evil spirits which will undermine the party's glorious tradition.

This brilliant work certainly can play a significant role in strengthening and improving the leadership of the party, and in rectifying the workstyle of the party, and is an important piece of instructional materials that needs to be conscientiously studied by our leaders at all levels and all our cadres.

#### Leaders Must Persist in Seeking Truth From Facts

The correct leadership must handle problems properly. In doing so, it must assess the environment and its changes, find out characteristics unique to a specific locality in any given time, link such characteristics with the general task of the party, set tasks and policies for a specific period, adopt currently suitable

slogans and strategy, and work out plans and instructions compatible with reality. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out: "In doing all this, we must go through a process of most practical investigation and study, and link actual findings with the theories and principles of the party." ("Selected Works of Zhou Enlai," vol 1, p 129; the following quotations from this book will indicate only its page numbers.) A leader's primary task is to deeply investigate the situation around him, and apply the Marxist theory and principles to analyze and study such actual findings. Following a thorough investigation and study, he can size up the situation and get a clear idea about it, thus enabling him to make a decision more easily and more correctly. In carrying out its work, the leadership must be aware of the tabu that it should never make any hasty decision before knowing the situation, and should never issue any order without a purpose in mind.

In the course of our socialist construction, leading cadres at all levels should adopt an attitude of seeking truth from facts toward decisions and instructions issued by the higher authorities. We must implement the line, tasks, policies and principles of the central authorities and the decisions and instructions of organizations, organs and departments at the higher levels. But their correct implementation requires efforts to seek truth from facts, requires investigation and study and a clear understanding of the situation around us, and requires the adaptation of the party's line, tasks, policies and principles and decisions and instructions of superior authorities to the specific features of any specific locality in any given time. Only in this way can we thoroughly carry them out, exercise correct leadership and produce good results. Ours is a vast, populous and economically backward country where the development of various localities is not well-balanced, conditions vary from unit to unit, things are very complicated, the situation changes from time to time. If we are unwilling to adapt the decisions and instructions of the superior authorities to the specific needs of specific localities in a given time, if we only copy mechanically the general principles set by the superior authorities and then circulate and transmit them regardless of the actual situation of specific localities in a given time and/or if we act in favor of specific local interests without taking into consideration the general task and overall interests of the party, we will be unable to do a good job in all fields of work. Nor can we deserve to be called a good leader.

Our current task is to accomplish the tremendous task for the readjustment of the national economy on the basis of stability and unity and to get the four modernizations program moving forward smoothly. Only by fulfilling readjustment and overcoming imbalance can we demonstrate the superiority of our economy. Various localities must combine their plans to demonstrate superiority with tasks for readjustment and must achieve a comprehensive balance. Only by persisting in seeking truth from facts can we truly demonstrate our strong points and do away with shortcomings and develop our superior power. If we are unwilling to conduct investigations and study, if we do not clearly understand the strengths and weaknesses of specific localities in a given time, and if we only indulge in shouting empty slogans about the demonstration of superior power, we can get literally nowhere. If we pay attention only to favorable conditions that exist in certain localities in a given time, if we take into consideration only local short-term interests, if we build plants blindly, plants which overlap each other, and if we allow the small to take the place of the big, the backward to take the place of the advanced, and the new plants to take the place of the old ones, we will certainly waste raw

materials, overextend our financial resources in violation of our readjustment policy and hasten the disproportionate development of the economy. In the course of economic construction, a leader must emphasize the short-term as well as long-term economic results.

#### Leaders Must Persist in Criticism, Self-Criticism

As soon as a decision is made, the correct leadership must organize forces to carry it out, and in the process of its enforcement, must subject itself to practical tests. Whether a decision is correct or not is not determined by any individual or by any conclusions in a book. "Whether the party's line and strategy are correct or not and whether they should be replenished can be verified through practice." (page 129) In carrying out its work, our party must constantly sum up experiences and lessons through practice and consciously launch criticism and self-criticism so that its mistakes can be corrected, shortcomings can be overcome, and correct points can be further perfected. Our leaders and their work cannot be expected to be always correct or completely correct. They may make correct decisions or mistakes. They have strengths as well as weaknesses. They must be well aware of this and must constantly launch criticism and self-criticism in the execution of practical work.

Practice is a massive form of social experimentation. Practice in revolution and construction is a practical activity involving the masses of people and their leaders. When practice advances to a certain stage, people with different positions and experiences will view things from their different depths, widths and angles. It is impossible for them to reach an entirely identical conclusion. It is natural that different views will be expressed. For this reason, a leader must patiently listen to such different views. He must listen not only to views in agreement with his, views that "follow the mainstream," views that can be easily heard everywhere and can be daringly expressed by everyone, and thoughtless and irresponsible views which echo one another in order to curry favor with the leadership, but also views in disagreement with his, and critical views which sound reasonable and inventive and reflect important problems of certain sections. For this reason, a leader must have a democratic style and a spirit to criticize and to be criticized and listen to different views simultaneously. Only by repeatedly going through a process of comparison, deliberation, careful analysis and study and by summarizing them can we fully understand the actual situation, reach a scientific conclusion, come up with correct decisions, and adopt feasible methods and effective measures to carry them out. Only in this way can we exercise correct leadership, do a good job in all fields of work, and bring the four modernizations to a successful conclusion.

In the process of practice, leaders must have courage to launch criticism and self-criticism, uphold truth and correct mistakes. They must endorse and uphold what has been proven correct as a result of practice and testing; they must acknowledge and correct what has been proven wrong as a result of practice and testing. They should never think that the prestige of leadership will be undermined and its confidence will be shaken as a result of the exposure of its mistakes. In a thorough Marxist manner, Comrade Zhou Enlai solemnly pointed out: "The prestige of leadership can be raised by correcting its mistakes but cannot be raised by covering them up; it can be fostered by hard work rather than by self-praise. Its confidence in work can be strengthened rather than weakened by correcting its



mistakes. Only those who cherish vain-glory will fear their mistakes being exposed." (page 131) How can we truly sum up experiences and lessons and exercise correct leadership if we insistently describe incorrectness and correctness and bad things as good? Can we raise the prestige of our leadership if we cover up its mistakes and indulge in self-glorification? During the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, in addition to setting a correct line, our party solemnly and conscientiously exposed the "left" mistakes of the period following 1957, repudiated the highly erroneous line of the Great Cultural Revolution, criticized mistakes of recent years in work, and pointed out the existing problems. Effective measures have also been taken to correct such mistakes. As a result, the party has restored and raised its prestige and cadres at all levels, and the people throughout the country have increased confidence in their ability to readjust the economy without a hitch, and to develop the four modernizations. These are objective facts that have been made available to the public.

#### Leaders Must Keep in Touch With the Masses

To exercise correct leadership, leaders must "maintain ties with the masses, and integrate their experiences with that of the masses." (page 131) In 1958, executive orders were issued to enforce by coercion the so-called commune system "bigger in size and of a more developed socialist nature," to "run mess halls in a big way," to "carry out the mass movement to make iron and steel," and to "transplant seedlings for growth in rocky fields." These orders were issued in violation of the rudimentary common sense and in disregard to popular experiences, and therefore encountered strong opposition from the masses. But our excessive enthusiasm and stubbornness eventually caused serious damage. This is a profound lesson to us all.

The revolutionary cause led by our party is an undertaking of the masses of people throughout the country. The aspirations and interests of the people throughout the country also speak of the aspirations and interests of the party. The line and tasks set by our party reflect the demands of the masses of people and are geared to serving their interests. For this reason, the masses can be relied upon to carry them out. In view of this, leaders should identify themselves with the masses in the following ways: "1) keep in touch with the masses and maintain ties with them and achieve unity with them; 2) listen to their voice; 3) learn from them; 4) educate them rather than being their tails." (page 131) This identity between leaders and the masses should apply to the masses of workers and peasants and intellectuals. If intellectuals are excluded from the concept of the "masses," and their position and role are despised, the four modernizations program cannot be brought to a successful conclusion. While maintaining close ties with the masses of workers and peasants, our leading comrades must also keep in close touch with the masses of intellectuals, listen to their opinions, acquaint themselves with their politics, ideas and living conditions, conscientiously implement the policy for intellectuals, take proper measures to solve such practical problems as regarding their working conditions and housing, factors that force husbands and wives to live separately because of their work, and their wages and salaries. Only in this way, can their enthusiasm be aroused and can they be encouraged to play a better role in developing the four modernizations.

An important factor that has led to the creation of bureaucracy is aloofness from the masses. Leaders have spent a long time sitting in office and standing high

above the masses. They have been unwilling to keep in close touch with the grassroots units and go among the masses, and identify themselves with the masses. This is why they cannot understand their production and living conditions, their ideas and feelings, and problems that have existed in the grassroots units. This is why they cannot reflect the aspirations and demands of the masses, and bureaucracy can grow easily. In carrying out their work, those on top have issued decisions and instructions not in keeping with the needs of those at the bottom. When this occurred, those at the bottom have not daringly reflected it and have been unwilling to seek truth from facts, and adapt those decisions and instructions for local implementation for fear of risking criticism from those on top. They just have done what they were told to do in disregard of damage to the interests of the masses and in defiance of their disagreement. They have been aware of their responsibility to those on top but unaware of their responsibility to the masses. This is another manifestation of bureaucracy.

#### Leaders Must Participate in Practice so as To Guide Others

Comrade Zhou Enlai said: Leaders must have the Marxist world outlook and a revolutionary concept of life. They must have a spirit standing for principle, faith in the strength of the masses, a spirit devoted to studies, an indomitable militant spirit and a high sense of discipline. In the process of organizing the implementation of correct decisions, leaders "must personally participate in practice so as to guide others." (page 129) A leader must discharge his duty by behaving himself well, by playing an exemplary role in obeying orders, and by acting as a vanguard in implementing correct decisions. By acting as a model in implementing correct decisions, he can claim a great following and make his influence widely felt. This is one way in which he can fulfill his leading role.

At present, our leading comrades at all levels must take the lead in developing the political and ideological work, give lectures on the situation and our tasks, propagate the Marxist and communist code of ethics, convey to the public the line, policies and principles of the party and state, criticize and oppose the remnant influence of feudalism in all forms that exist in the ideological and political fields inside and outside the party. They must criticize and oppose tendencies of worshipping capitalism and cherishing the bourgeois *laissez-faire*. They must criticize and oppose the rotten ideas of reaping profits at the expense of others, seeking profits as one's only aim, and "worshipping money." They must criticize and oppose anarchism and individualism. They must take the lead in implementing the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life," politically identify themselves with the Party Central Committee, thoroughly implement the party's line and policies, adhere to the democratic centralism, uphold the collective leadership, promise not to seek privileges and pursue private interests, overcome unhealthy workstyle, and carry forward the party's fine tradition. They must take the lead in carrying forward democracy, in strengthening the legal system, in defending the status and democratic rights of the masses of people to be masters of their own country, in serving the people wholeheartedly and in preventing and overcoming bureaucracy. They must take the lead in thoroughly implementing the readjustment policy, in consciously observing financial discipline, and must do a good job in all fields of work and pave the way for the readjustment of the economy. The exemplary and leading role played by leaders at all levels is very significant in that it can help strengthen and improve the leadership of the party, rectify its workstyle,

stimulate the revolutionary spirit of the cadres and people throughout the country, preserve and develop the political situation of stability and unity, accomplish the task of readjusting the national economy without a hitch, and successfully facilitate the development of the four modernizations.

When our party and state leader Deng Yingchao led the delegation of the National People's Congress to France in June 1980, she chose to fly a commercial airliner instead of a special plane from Beijing to Urumqi and from Urumqi to Paris. Upon her arrival in Urumqi, she chose to ride in a bread-delivery car instead of a red flag-flying sedan from the airport to the guest house. While at the guest house, she slept in a hard board bed and ate three meals together with others every day. Our elderly Sister Deng is "indeed a good sister" for, in defiance of fatigue, she voluntarily gave up all privileges entitled to her by the system and regulations when she was on the way to foreign countries. It is in this manner that many of our leaders, party members and cadres on all fronts and in various fields have taken practical actions to inherit and carry forward the party's fine workstyle and tradition and hand them down from generation to generation.

The publication of the "Selected Works of Zhou Enlai" is an important event in our country's political life. The article entitled "How To Be a Good Leader" not only has added a demand to the qualifications of leaders but also reflects a broader sense of educational significance. We must conscientiously study Comrade Zhou Enlai's brilliant work, so that we can draw spiritual strength from it and apply it as an ideological weapon to constantly raise our ideological and political levels. Only in this way can we strive to transform ourselves into good leaders, good cadres, good party members and good revolutionaries.

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PUBLICATION OF HIGH QUALITY TEACHING MATERIALS CALLED FOR

Beijing RENMIN JIAOYU [PEOPLE'S EDUCATION] in Chinese No 12, Dec 80 pp 13-14

[Article by Ren Yu [0117 1342]: "Strive to Publish High Quality Teaching Materials--on the 30th Anniversary of the People's Education Publishing House"]

[Text] Under the personal interest of Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou, the People's Education Publishing House was established on 1 December 1950. Chairman Mao wrote an inscription for it in his own hand. In May 1954, the Higher Education Publishing House was created. (The two publishing houses were merged in 1960. Subsequently, they were at times separated and at times merged.) From the day of its establishment, the People's Education Publishing House has spanned 30 years. The 30 years saw the growth of its personnel and the development of its enterprise, but they were also 30 years of rugged and rough road. In the 10 plus years after their establishment, the 2 publishing houses compiled 5 sets of elementary school teaching materials, including an entire set of middle and elementary school teaching materials compiled in 1956, the teaching material compiled after 1960 for the 10-year full-time system which was experimentally introduced in a small number of schools, the teaching materials compiled after 1962 for the various subjects of the 12-year full-time system, and the revised teaching materials compiled in 1964 for the various subjects of the 12-year full-time system. Meanwhile, they also edited and published two groups of texts for the science departments of universities and the basic and basic technical subjects of engineering colleges, educational publications, teaching references and students' outside readings. Gradually, they developed into the national teaching material center.

This large teaching material center which had a personnel of 500 and served as the spiritual base to train talents of the generation was suspended by order of the "gang of 4" during the 10-year calamity. Its entire personnel was reassigned to cadre schools, its key members were scattered in all areas, and its important data vanished. In the 2d half of 1972, under Premier Zhou's concern, the People's Education Publishing House was rebuilt. However, prohibited from publishing teaching materials and recalling its key personnel by the "gang of four's" diehard followers, it was unable to develop its work.



After smashing the "gang of four," the publishing house gained a new life. In September 1977, under the concern of the Party Central Committee, the Ministry of Education gathered a large group of comrades experienced in teaching material compilation and teaching from all areas in the nation and held a national middle and elementary school teaching material compilation and writing work conference. The publishing house began to compile national teaching programs, textbooks and teachers' references for the various subjects of the 10-year full-time system middle and elementary schools. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Education called national forums on teaching materials for the science departments and for the basic subjects of engineering departments of higher schools. Centering around teaching materials, they discussed such issues as the academic system, the goal of training and the teaching program and drafted a 3-year plan for the creation of basic subject teaching materials of science and engineering. Under the plans proclaimed by the Ministry of Education and the support of the educational units and higher schools of the various areas, the People's Education Publishing House organized several thousand experienced teachers to participate in the creation of more than 500 kinds of teaching materials and the translation of more than 200 foreign materials for the basic subjects of science and engineering. In June 1978, at the national forum on teaching liberal arts in higher schools, the Ministry of Education began to restore the building of liberal arts teaching materials, including a group of books on teaching for specialization in education, for publication by the People's Education Publishing House. After 3 years of vigorous effort, the foregoing tasks have been basically completed. It is expected that all the middle and elementary school teaching materials will be published in the spring of 1981 and that of universities will be basically published in 1982. In this arduous course of historical development, though we have made some achievements, defects and errors are many, and we have gained experience and learned the lessons.

What are the experiences in the 20 years of work on teaching materials (excluding the 10 years of upheaval)? What are the important issues in the creation of teaching materials? To put it briefly, there are four main points: First, we must fully understand the importance of the creation of teaching materials and strive for leadership and support. As an important tool to train socialist experts and impart knowledge, the quality of teaching materials will directly influence the training of talents and the sound growth of hundreds of millions of young people, while the creation of superior teaching materials requires the direct and indirect participation of experienced teachers and the vigorous support of all sides. The creation of middle and elementary school teaching materials and the basic scientific and engineering teaching materials for universities in 1977 is a clear illustration. Without the leadership of the superior level, the support and coordination of the educational units of the various areas and the direct and indirect participation of the broad teachers, it would have been inconceivable to create a set of new teaching materials for use by the universities and middle and elementary schools in the whole country. Next, we must give serious attention to the integration of teaching materials and teaching. Teaching materials are the sum total of the teaching experience as well as the basis of teaching. We must, in accordance with the experience of the teaching practice, gradually explain the scientific

knowledge of the particular subjects. The teaching materials and the teacher's teaching are indivisible. In compiling teaching materials, while plucking the essence and the newest achievements of knowledge, we must also give attention to teaching, listen carefully to the opinions of the teachers and concentrate their experience. After compiling the teaching materials, they must be returned to teaching, to undergo the test of the teaching practice. By the teacher's practice, we will uncover the problems and collect the suggestions for revisions, gradually attaining the unity of teaching materials and teaching and the compatibility between the two. Under the guidance of this principle, we invited, in the past 3 years, 45 well-known professors and scientists to serve as advisers on middle and elementary school teaching materials, who provided us with valuable opinions on the principles of compiling teaching materials and the teaching content. After compiling the teaching materials, we printed and distributed them extensively among the college and middle and elementary school teachers, scientific workers and technical personnel for their opinions, and we sent our compiling personnel to various areas to hear the views of almost 10,000 teachers. In regard to universities, we invited more than 370 teachers of relatively high academic level and rich experience to form 14 teaching material compiling and editing committees which served as regular professional guidance and inquiry structures on basic scientific and engineering materials, studied the principles of compiling and editing teaching materials for the various subjects and the measures for promoting teaching material modernization, evaluated and selected the materials recommended by the various schools and examined new materials. In addition, we also successively invited more than 5,000 teachers to participate in more than 300 teaching material manuscript examination meetings for the purpose of comprehensively examining the new materials. As proved by practice, this method is highly necessary. Only when combined with proper teaching will superior teaching materials produce good results. As a teaching material publishing unit, we must publish more teaching references, including translations of foreign publications, and promote the improvement of the teachers' professional level. Thirdly, we must summarize and absorb all beneficial experiences at home and abroad, giving special attention to the experiences of the developed countries, learning their good points and avoiding their shortcomings. Parochial arrogance, closing the door to international intercourse and severing oneself from the world will not lead to the creation of teaching materials of international advanced level adapted to the need of the four modernization construction. Fourthly, we must build a strong contingent as the basic strength in creating teaching materials, compiling and studying them and accumulating experience in the work. The personnel for compiling teaching materials must possess professional knowledge, writing ability, academic training and research capacity (understanding at least one foreign language), the four requirements. We must adopt all kinds of measures, including creating conditions for professional studies, to provide them with the opportunities for improvement, in order to enhance their quality. After arduous work, the People's Education Publishing House now has a basically complete editing contingent for the teaching materials of the various subjects of colleges and middle and elementary schools. Many of them have long been engaged in the work of compiling and editing teaching materials and understand domestic and foreign conditions in the field, and some of them are of certain academic attainments.

The core of the foregoing discussion is the continuous improvement of the quality of teaching materials, which is the direction of our effort hereafter. To raise the quality of teaching materials, we, on the foundation of summarizing experiences, are studying measures of improvement, launching the evaluation and introduction of new teaching materials, reinforcing the responsibility system of editing and examination, bettering the methods of organizing, selecting and scrutinizing manuscripts, assessing and choosing superior materials, etc. We are also vigorously promoting the study of domestic and foreign materials. All the countries in the world with advanced technology and developed production give serious attention to the study of teaching materials for academic subjects. In the name of the government or financial groups, many countries create special study structures to reform again and again the curricula and renew continuously the teaching contents. The rapid development of our modernization construction requires the cultivation of commensurate expert talents, the continuous appropriate changes of the subjects and materials and the study of such subjects and materials. Not only thus, but the creation of teaching materials itself is scientific research, making scientific summations and theoretical generalizations of the voluminous data and systematically expounding the basic theories and knowledge of the particular subjects, while studying the teaching methods, from the superficial to the profound, from the easy to the difficult, from the simple to the complex, gradually explaining the theories and knowledge and making them compatible with the study patterns of the students. With the development of technology, the teaching materials must suitably reflect the new achievements of modern science and technology, absorb the basic ideas of modern science and selectively include the traditional contents. Meanwhile, we must guard against undermining the basic contents of the particular subjects and maintain their systematic essence and integrity. To fulfill such requirements, we must summarize our own experiences and absorb those of foreign countries, actively launch the study of teaching materials and gradually attain perfection by means of practice, understanding, practice again and understanding again.

Recalling the past and looking into the future, we find that the People's Education Publishing House is like a vigorous youth who, having just traversed the narrow muddy path, is marching on the highway of the modernization construction of the motherland. Here, we wish to express our thanks to the teachers, educational workers and figures in society who expressed their opinions on the teaching materials of universities and middle and elementary schools and enabled us to improve in our work, and we hope that they will show a continued interest and help us progress continuously in the creation and publication of high quality teaching materials!

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## **SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE**

### **SOME LEADING CADRES STILL IGNORE 'GUIDING PRINCIPLES'**

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Dec 80 p 1

[Article by Sun Jian [1327 0256] and Yang Huasong [2799 5478 1529]: "When Will the 'Past' End and the 'Present and Future' Begin?"]

[Text] Since the promulgation of "Certain Guiding Principles Regarding Inner-Party Political Life," some changes have taken place, but they are not significant. Up to now, some of the leading cadres still ignore the "guiding principles." They unscrupulously continue to seek personal privileges for themselves or for a small group of people. The reason why they go so far to show no sign of repentance is directly associated with the fact that some inspection departments just let things like this go unchecked and are lenient in the performance of their duties. For instance, some of the party's inspection departments, forced by public opinion in society, may conduct merely formal investigations of people who go all out to engage in evil deeds. But when they take up such matters, they may adopt a different attitude by simply saying that "this will not be allowed to be repeated," or that one must be strict toward what happens today or will happen in the future, and be broadminded about the past," and so forth. In any case, what they expect to do is to turn big problems into small problems and small problems into no problem at all. Also, there are cases such as taking bribes and bending the law as well as harboring and egging on evildoers. Can "handling" matters in this way be of any help? In our opinion, if problems which took place before the promulgation of the "guiding principles" can be dealt with "leniently," then problems which have arisen since the promulgation of the "guiding principles" should be dealt with "rigorously." It is absolutely not allowed to use words day after day and year after year such as "be strict toward what happens today or will happen in the future and be broadminded about what happened in the past," in order to pretend to be ignorant of what happened. Otherwise, people can not help asking: When will the "past" end and the "hereafter" begin?

It is not possible to correct party style without rigorous discipline, and it also is not possible to rectify popular morale without a correct party workstyle. It is hoped that comrades in all departments concerned will open their eyes wide and not keep a blind eye. When this happens, we will not be far from the time when we can completely correct evil tendencies.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### FLATTERY, PRIVILEGES FOR CERTAIN CADRES MUST BE EXPOSED

Jihan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Dec 80 p 1

[Article by Wang Chongxian [3769 1504 0341]: "Turning 'Flattery' Into 'Digging Out'"]

[Text] In villages, when you go to an open-air movie theatre, a distinguishing feature is that those who come first take the better seats. There is no such thing as seating according to a designated number indicated on the ticket. But in some places there is a situation whereby, before the movie starts, several rows of chairs that are reserved for local secretaries, department heads, committee members, managers, and factory directors are arranged in the best location in the theatre. It is not known by whom or where this practice originated. However, it was established by custom long ago. Therefore, those who arrange the chairs do so calmly, and those who take the seats remain unruffled. Even the vast numbers of people in the audience understand tacitly what is going on, once they catch sight of these chairs. They know: "Great-grandfather is here; all other divinities are to yield."

Such personal privilege can only be deemed a trivial matter, but a profound truth can be expounded from it. Some people who go all out to seek personal privileges should, of course, take the main responsibilities themselves. However, it cannot be denied that the reason why this can work so handily and they are able to get advantages from all sides is because certain people around them have adopted a policy of "flattery." It is said: "The first type of cadres are those who deliver to the door; the second type of cadres are those who get in by the back door; and the third type of cadres are those who have no doors." May I ask: Aren't the so-called [persons] who "deliver to the door" and open the back doors for those who want to enter by the back door "flatterers?"

We remember what Mr Lu Xun said in this respect: For the Chinese, the basic reason for them to eat their own bitter fruit lies in flattery, and the way for them to act as they think fit is to eradicate it. These words may help enlighten us in some way. Comrades who are fond of "flattery" are hereby advised to turn "flattery" into "digging out." In other words, we have to wage a struggle against those who are inclined to evil tendencies. We have to advise them, to stop them, and to expose them. We believe that such "eradication" will be most helpful in overcoming evil trends.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### FORUM TAKES UP TEACHING OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jan 81 p 3

[Article: "Strengthen the Study of Scientific Socialist Theory"]

[Text] In December of last year, a forum was held in Guangzhou on the teaching of scientific socialism in party schools throughout the country. More than 200 people were present at the forum, including representatives from the Central Party School and party schools in provinces, municipalities, and autonomous prefectures all over the country, as well as representatives from various units concerned. Deputy Director Wang Huide [3769 1920 1795] of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Secretary Gong Zirong [7895 1311 2837] of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee spoke at the forum. Deputy Dean Fan Ruoyu [5400 5387 1946] participated in and spoke at the forum.

At the forum, the emphasis of discussion was on questions including the significance of strengthening the study of scientific socialist theory at present, the basic feature of socialist society, socialist democracy and the legal system, and so forth.

The representatives who participated in the forum felt unanimously that strengthening the study of scientific socialism is an important guarantee of correctly implementing the political line adopted by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. This is the objective requirement for implementing the four modernizations and for striving to greater victory for the cause of socialism.

Representatives at the meeting pointed out that since the founding of the People's Republic, the cause of socialism has passed through a very difficult and winding course, owing to the influence of leftist ideology. Especially during the 10-year period of calamity, socialist fascism was practiced by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," on the pretense that it was scientific socialism, thus causing a severe setback of the cause of socialism. Even now, under the influence of leftist ideology, the very serious phenomenon of an ossified way of thinking still prevails among cadres. Therefore, it is at present necessary to go all out to strengthen the study and teaching of scientific socialism, to understand Marxism perfectly and correctly, and to deepen the understanding of the vast numbers of cadres and the masses concerning the correct party line and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee so that we can achieve the goal of socialist construction with one heart and one mind on the basis of stability and unity.

The participants unanimously ascertained that the system of public ownership of production data is the basic feature of socialist society. This is because it reflects the essential feature and determines the other features of socialist society.

During the discussions, the representatives felt that in order to understand the system of socialist public ownership, the following points should be defined:

First, the system of socialist public ownership is associated with the socialization of production. The extent of the socialization of production determines the extent of the transformation of public ownership. A highly developed productivity is the material prerequisite of the system of socialist public ownership as designed by the founder of scientific socialism. In the past 30 years we have achieved great successes in socialist construction, but in the socialization of production they are still insignificant. In no case are we allowed to lose contact with the restraint of productivity to engage in what is called "vigorous transition" in order to objectively elevate at will the degree of transformation of public ownership.

Second, starting from this point, it should be made clear that the system of socialist public ownership of production data we are talking about at the present stage is directed at the principal part of the national economy but not at all of it. On the one hand, we have to uphold and perfect the system of socialist public ownership, while on the other hand we have to allow the existence and proper development of the individual economy and national capitalism, because they are the necessary complements of a socialist economy.

Third, the concrete form of the system of socialist public ownership is worth exploration and study. The representatives were of the opinion that the system of national ownership cannot be interpreted as the final and perfect form of the system of socialist public ownership. Socialism is still in its infancy in practice. Therefore we are required to go one step further to emancipate our minds and hasten to combine theory and practice in order to probe for a concrete form which can both give full play to the superiority of socialism and promote the development of productivity.

In discussions pertaining to socialist democracy and the legal system, everybody pointed out that the reason why the inference that "there is no socialism without democracy" is Marxist lies in the fact that without democracy the people will not be able to become the masters. Unless the powers of administration and control over production data are in the hands of the laborers, there will be no genuine system of socialist public ownership. Without democracy the people will be unable to elect, supervise, and recall cadres, and therefore they will be unable to prevent cadres from becoming "masters" sitting on the backs of the people instead of remaining as public servants of society. Finally, without political democratization it is very hard for us to carry out socialist modernization in our economy.

At present, how can the socialist democratic system be developed? The representatives pointed out that, in the first place, it is necessary to unceasingly strengthen and perfect the leading role of the party, and the party is required to lead the people to become real masters. Secondly, the advance of socialist democracy must be linked with reform of the political system. The presently prevailing measures, such as

separating party and government, ending the lifetime tenure of leading cadres, and making people's congress at all levels organs of real power, are measures of great importance for developing the socialist democratic system. At the same time, in order to enhance socialist democracy we have to thoroughly criticize the ideology of the feudalistic autocracy and the various forces of habit that are not democratic, and to educate cadres at various levels in socialist democracy to enable the vast numbers of cadres and the masses to gradually foster the concept of socialist democracy.

The representatives participating in the forum thoroughly discussed questions of giving full play to the superiority of socialism and of promoting construction of the four modernizations. They all agreed that the superiority of the socialist system and whether or not the superiority of socialism can be brought into full play are two different ideas. The system of public ownership of socialist production data determines that the socialist system has to provide the maximum potential for the rapid development of productivity, which constitutes an inherent, objective superiority of socialism. However, in order to turn possibility into reality, it is necessary to make a strenuous and subjective effort. The comrades felt that since the founding of the People's Republic, there have been different reasons for not being able to bring the superiority of socialism into full play at times. The main reasons have been 1) our very poor original material base; 2) the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four;" and 3) the incorrect guidance of leftist ideology, which still exists within the party and thereby has obstructed the rapid development of the national economy. The forum emphatically pointed out that in order to give full play to the superiority of socialism, we must: first, conscientiously carry out the party line, develop productivity, and improve the rate of labor productivity; second, conscientiously put into effect the eight-character policy aimed at readjusting, consolidating, restructuring, and improving, so as to gear it to the basic situation of development of social productivity at the present stage of our country; third, strengthen our ideological work politically, so that we can bring the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses into full play in order to carry out construction of the four modernizations; and fourth, strengthen socialist democracy and the legal system in order to create a lasting and consolidating political situation of stability and unity--the essential guarantee of bringing the superiority of socialism into full play.

At the forum, a proposal was put forward to set up a preparatory committee for establishing a national institute of scientific socialism. Another matter that was discussed concerned the compilation of textbooks on scientific socialism; these must reach a certain level of Marxism and be adapted to the needs of party schools and cadre education.

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